1: Dube E-5 (1951-52) 1955 AW17 Telugu AW17

Introduction

I

India is predominantly an agricultural and rural country. An overwhelming majority of her people live in the countryside. In the 1951 census it was estimated that there were over [illegible] villages in the country. Since partition this number has diminished, but the rural-urban ratio in the population still remains more or less the same. According to various estimates, [illegible] per cent of India's population live in villages.

From time immemorial the village has been a basic and important unit in the organization of Indian social polity. It finds prominent mention in the classical texts of the land. For example, according to the *Rig-Veda*, generally dated in the latter half of the 2nd millennium B.C., society developed in a series of ascending formations, starting from the family (*griha* or *kula*) and gradually extending to the village (*grama*), the clan (*vis*), the people (*jana*) and the country (*rashtra*). The term *grama*, still largely used in India for village, denoted an aggregate of several families sharing the same habitation. Besides mentioning that the village was headed by the *gramani*, chief of the village, the *Rig-Veda* does not give us any details regarding its internal structure or organization or its external affiliations. In post-vedic literature, particularly the epics, we have somewhat more detailed glimpses of the then existing settlements. The *Mahabharata* (*c.* 2nd century B.C.–2nd century A.D.) mentions several types of habitations and settlements, such as cattle farm (*ghosh* or *vraja*), small barbarian hamlets (*palli*), forts to protect surrounding settlements (*durga*), villages developing around the forts (*grama*), town (*kharvata* or *pattana*) and city (*nagara*). Through the *Mahabharata* we get an

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621 outline of the system of village and inter-village organization.
631 According to the epic, the village was the fundamental unit of administration; and had as its head the *gramini*, who was its leader and chief spokesman; one of the major responsibilities of this headman was to protect the village and its boundaries in all directions within a radius of two miles. The administrative system was organized on the basis of grouping of villages, each group having its own recognized leader. Thus a group of ten villages was under a *das-gramani*, and this was the first unit of inter-village organization. Two such groups, that is twenty villages, used to be under a *vimsatipa*. A group of a hundred villages was headed by *satgramini* or *grami-satadhyaksha*. Finally, a group of a thousand villages was under an *adhipati*. Several later works touch upon this subject, but they do not add materially to our knowledge of the system of village and inter-village organization in ancient India. However, it will not be out of place to make a brief reference to the place of the village in the writings of Manu (*c.* 200 B.C.–2nd century A.D.), the Hindu law-giver, whose code still largely governs the structure of Hindu society. Manu distinguishes between three kinds of settlements: village *grama*, town *pura* and city *nagara*. According to him, the village was the fundamental unit of administration, with its own officers and organization. The *gramini* was the head of the village. Apart from the different spheres of socio-religious life in which the family, the clan, the caste and the village were all equally interested, the village as a unit had a number of responsibilities of its own. Thus the maintenance and management of several public utilities such as wells, tanks, ponds, reservoirs, embankments, cow-pens, groves, parks and pastures was under the village itself. Approximately a thousand villages constituted a country and were under a *sahasresa*; within this group were several divisions and subdivisions—a hundred villages under a *satesa*, twenty villages under a *vimsi*, ten villages under a *dasi* and finally a village itself under a *gramini*. Notwithstanding the passage of time, the village system in India still continues to have many of the characteristics described by Manu. Even to-day the village retains its semi-autonomous character. Invariably it has a recognized headman with a definite set of duties and functions. Groups of ten to twenty villages still join together to decide important cases and to discuss issues of common interest. A thousand villages or so constitute a culture-area, or at least a subculture-area, and the

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rural community within this region invariably has a number of common cultural characteristics and social forms and values.

Yet we cannot regard the Indian village community as static, timeless and changeless. Time and the interplay of historical and sociological factors and forces have influenced the structure, organization and ethos of these communities in many significant ways.

II

To-day it is common to speak of the 'Indian village' or of 'the Indian peasant'. While it is true that many problems are common to the entire Indian countryside, this practice tends to give one an impression that the village as a social and cultural unit possesses a basically uniform organization and structure of values all over the Indian sub-continent. This would obviously be an over-simplified presentation of a rather complex situation. For a proper understanding of their social structure as well as of their problems, it is necessary to classify them into clearly distinguishable types. For such classification several criteria could be employed, including, among others, the following:

i. Size, population and land-area.
ii. Ethnic composition and caste-constitution.
iii. Pattern of land ownership.
iv. Structure of authority and power hierarchy.
v. Degree of isolation.
vi. Local traditions.

Each culture-area of India has its own nomenclature to classify the villages within its territory in respect of their size and population. In the Hindi-speaking parts of north and middle India it is usual to distinguish between *kheda* (a hamlet), *gaon* (a small village and *kasba* (a large village). In Telangana, the Telugu-speaking part of the State of Hyderabad to which the village of Shamirpet described in this book belongs, a similar distinction is made between *gumpu*, *majra* and *grama*. The first of these denotes a tiny collection of huts, the second is a larger hamlet and the third is the village proper. The differences between these rural settlements are not confined only to their size and population. All three can be classified as belonging to the 'folk society', but they differ so greatly in their internal organization, economic self-sufficiency,

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it generally has a federal type of organization, in that each culture group within this settlement is semi-autonomous, and a common village authority drawn from all these groups has overriding powers for the community as a whole. In areas where there are intense or even pronounced inter-caste rivalries and tensions, the caste composition of the village will largely determine its patterns of inter-group adjustment.

It goes without saying that in a primarily agricultural country land must be greatly prized; and, with the great pressure of population and the conditions of private ownership, possession of land has not only an economic but a social and prestige value as well. Where all the land belongs to a landlord or is held by two or more landlords—as in the case of 'joint-villages'—the organization of the village is sure to be very different from that of a village inhabited by proprietary tenants. The general ratio of land distribution between two or more castes, between certain families or between one big landowner and the rest of the community may have a vital influence on the nature of village organization and problems.

No village in India is completely autonomous and independent, for it is always one unit in a wider social system and is a part of an organized political society. An individual is not the member of a village community alone; he also belongs to a caste, religious group or tribe which has a wider territorial spread and comprises several villages. These units have their own organization, authority and sanctions. Politically the villages are under the legislative, executive and judicial authority of the Indian Union and one of its constituent States. For administrative convenience these States are divided into districts, the latter being subdivided into *tehsils* or *talukas*. In day-to-day administration the villages come into contact with the authorities and officials of this subdivision and of the district, although the laws of the State and the Union are binding on them. The village thus has independence and autonomy only in its domestic affairs. But who exercises the authority in this field? Is there a petty feudal landlord who has some administrative and judicial powers as well? Is there a government-recognized landlord who has arrogated to himself administrative powers? Or, has the village a *panchayat* (village council) constituted on the basis of local tradition? All the feudal states have been abolished in Republican India; but petty feudal estates still continue in

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621 some parts of the country, and effective steps have been taken in
631 very few areas to abolish village landlordism. On the other hand,
184 with a view to reviving village self-government, some State governments are establishing village councils with recognized legal powers, the members of which are appointed by the government. Locus of power in the community is another criterion in respect of which Indian villages often present very different pictures.

369 Nearness to or isolation from large administrative or industrial
621 centres also has a bearing on the nature of the organization of a
184 village and of its view of the world. Availability of or nearness to modern means of transport and communications also modifies the setting and fabric of a village, and in its classification it is necessary to take into account these vital factors.

621 Lastly, village settlements are governed by certain traditions—
184 regional and local. The dress, speech and manners, as well as the lay-out of the village and construction of the houses, follow the prescribed patterns of the culture-area. Thus in the different areas we can naturally look forward to a certain degree of diversity in village organization. But apart from these regional variations villages have a corporate unity, and each one possesses an individuality of its own. Some villages are regarded as 'peaceful', others as 'difficult'. Some have a reputation for generosity and fair play, while others are notorious for their meanness. Some are known for being 'upright and strict'; others are criticized for their laxity. Love of litigation is a characteristic feature of some villages; ostentation and display of others; while still others may be very sensitive about their good name. Again, co-operativeness or its absence may characterize some villages. These attributes and qualities may have their roots in strong local traditions or in a combination of factors working at a particular time. But they do give a distinctive character to the village, and a study of the social ways, processes and motivations in such villages will not be without considerable sociological and psychological interest.

In view of the operation of factors delineated above, it is difficult to regard any one village as typical or representative of rural India as a whole. In fact, I would go a step further to say that such a village could hardly be regarded as representative even of its culture-area, except in a very general way. The problem before the social anthropologist and the sociologist is therefore a complex one, and what we need to-day is a series of studies of village com-

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137 Shamirpet and the neighbouring cluster of villages. However, villagers are able to collect some fuel as well as small quantities of edible and marketable minor forest produce from the local
136 scrub jungle. In this type of landscape little game is to be expected. Tigers from the forests fifteen or twenty miles away are occasionally seen, but panthers, in search of stray goats, calves and dogs, are more frequent visitors to the village. Wild pigs are plentiful and always do very considerable damage to the crops. Spotted deer make an occasional appearance in the surrounding areas, while hares which abound in the shrubs are very often shot or hunted with dogs trained for this purpose. Wild ducks come seasonally to the large tank near the village, and green pigeons and partridges are among the other feathered game found in the vicinity of Shamirpet.

131 It has been pointed out that Shamirpet is only some twenty-five miles from Hyderabad and Secundrabad, which rank fourth among the cities of India in respect of population and size. It is only fifteen miles from the Bolarum cantonment and twelve miles
[494] from the military aerodrome of Hakimpet. A regular bus service plying between Hyderabad and Karimnagar touches Shamirpet, and there are about twelve buses running in both directions on this road every day. From this it should not be assumed, however, that Shamirpet is just a suburban extension of Hyderabad. Although it is in regular and constant touch with the capital, it is an independent village with an organization of its own.

621 No village in India can be singled out as being typical of the
531 country as a whole, but Shamirpet possesses most of the characteristics which are common to the rural communities in middle and peninsular India. As an independent socio-economic and ritual unit it enjoys partial self-sufficiency in several aspects of community life. In the wider organization of the rural community it possesses partial autonomy. Its component units are mostly the occupational castes which are integrated into the structure of the village. Finally, it has a semi-judicial village council composed of caste elders and other influential persons. This council administers justice in socio-religious cases involving breaches of the traditional norms of society. The village as a unit of social organization performs several significant functions which form an important agency of social control.

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its past history 'as it was passed on to them by their forefathers'. The village of Shamirpet owes its present shape to the construction of the large and beautiful tank which lies some three furlongs north of the village site. Before the construction of this tank there was a tiny hamlet on the present site which consisted of a few households and was known as Shahpur. Some three hundred and fifty years ago Ibrahim Quli Qutub Shah, then ruler of Hyderabad, wishing to perpetuate his name, ordered the construction of a huge tank which, he expected, would be called after him. This tank is the hyphen linking the city of Hyderabad with Secundrabad. However, according to the legend, the people associated it with the name of the engineer Hussain Khan and called it 'Hussain Sagar'. So the ruler decided on the building of a second tank, and chose the site of Shamirpet. But the Shamirpet tank was his second disappointment. On the completion of the tank, he is believed to have come to the site and asked the people, 'Whose tank is this?' The people unwittingly answered, 'It is Shah Mir's tank.' The people's tribute to the man whose brain had created the project did not satisfy the Qutubshahi ruler. He ordered a third tank to be constructed at a different site some thirty-five miles away, and it is this tank which now commemorates his name and is known as Ibrahimpatan Sagar. The second of these tanks, constructed near the hamlet known as Shahpur, changed the fortunes of that small settlement. The people who had worked on the construction settled permanently in the vicinity of the hamlet and were joined by more settlers attracted by the irrigation facilities provided by the tank, so that the village gradually grew to a considerable size. Because of its association with Shah Mir's tank, the hamlet acquired the new name of Shah Mir Pet, which became gradually corrupted into Shamirpet.

In the year 1948 H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad (until 1948 the feudal ruler of Hyderabad) granted this village together with several others as Jagir (feudal estate) to one of his nobles, the late Fakhrul Mulk Khan Khanan. On his death the estate was inherited by his son Nawab Nizam Yar Jung, also known as Nawab Ehsan-ul-Mulk Khan Khanan. The last in the line of the Jagirdars of Shamirpet was Kemal Yar Jung. He constructed a beautiful summer house, which is now in ruins, adjoining the tank, as well as several office buildings in the village which house the post office, the school, the police station and the village granary. After

Nawab Kenge Nur Jung the property came under the administration of the Court of Wards. In the meantime, vast changes were taking place in Hyderabad. After the Police Action of 1948, Hyderabad became an integral part of the Indian Republic. With the inauguration of the democratic order the Nizam has ceased to be a constitutional ruler and the feudal system within the state has been abolished. In consequence Shamirpet now comes under the jurisdiction of the normal district administration.

Shamirpet is situated at a distance of about a furlong from the main metalled road which runs between Hyderabad and Karimnagar. A mud road connects the village with the main road. The houses in the village are clearly visible. Between the road and the village there is a flat and fairly level stretch of land and on the extreme of this ground there is a tree around which the Muslims bury their dead. At the junction of the road leading to the village there is a small [illegible] awaiting the buses, built of stone and lime. To the north stands the Inspection Bungalow of the State Public Works Department. It is intended for the use of [illegible] officials, and can also be used by occasional [illegible] to make a small payment for its use. Further north, at a distance of about two and a half furlongs, is the tank, [illegible] Barren rocks and tall trees provide a beautiful [illegible] between the tank and the road now lie the ruins of [illegible] which was built on the tank-bund by the last [illegible] the village. In its time it was provided with an [illegible] pipe lines and modern sanitary fittings, but [illegible] death it was deserted and is now a melancholy [illegible]

The village itself is not built according to a definite plan. A [illegible] main street lies in the centre and runs almost parallel to and [illegible] furlong away from the main road. As we proceed northward [illegible] this street we find on the right a number of white-[illegible] stone buildings housing the various government offices, [illegible] on the left there are a number of small tea and betel shops. On the right there are also the residential quarters of the sub-[illegible] inspector of police who is in charge of the police station, a government granary, living quarters of the police constables, the village [illegible] library, the school and the post office. Lanes branch off both [illegible] and left from the street and on either side of these lanes are

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in fact entered as parts of the village of Shamirpet in government records, and in a sense they are; nevertheless, on a restricted scale they enjoy considerable autonomy. The elders of the hamlets try, as far as possible, to decide the hamlet's minor disputes without referring them either to the headman or to the village council of Shamirpet. They say, 'We are poor inhabitants of a small hamlet. Our resources are limited. The people of Shamirpet are prosperous; they have adopted the ways of the city. If we refer our cases to them, they will impose such fines that our necks will break.' Yet there are many cases in which one of the disputing parties, dissatisfied with the judgement of the elders and possessing the necessary financial resources or influential support, will refer the case to the Shamirpet village council. In all such cases one or two elders and influential people from the hamlet in question are summoned to attend the proceedings of the village council at Shamirpet. Similarly, for all the ceremonies organized jointly by the people of Shamirpet as a whole it is customary to send invitations to Babugura and Upparpalli and it is expected that they will be represented by at least some of the village elders. When the people of the village as a whole are summoned on government business to the district or subdivisional headquarters, the residents of the two hamlets have also to accompany the people of Shamirpet, for all the three settlements are, according to government records, component units of one village. However, the distance between Shamirpet and the two hamlets is an effective barrier to the pursuance of a common social life. And from this point of view the two hamlets are as independent as two self-contained small villages.

The area surrounding Shamirpet is quite densely populated. It is not unusual to find a village or a small hamlet every three to six miles, and Shamirpet is surrounded by a number of villages, some large and others small. With most of these, Shamirpet, as a village, has very little to do. However, individual residents remain in constant touch with friends and relations in the surrounding villages. Ceremonies connected with the major crises of life, i.e. birth, marriage and death, often take people out of Shamirpet to the neighbouring villages, or bring people from there into Shamirpet. For a more or less well-defined block of villages the different castes have their respective caste councils, to which matters concerning the caste only are taken.

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zone of the Orissa Hills. There are small deposits of lead (Nalgonda), copper and mica (Raichur), and graphite (Warangal), while the Ceded Districts have non-ferrous metals (manganese, antimony), corundum, and barytes; but most of the minerals here are associated with the bordering ranges to the E. and in any case are almost untouched. Golconda diamonds belong to history — and legend — rather than to modern economy. The forest resources around the Godavari are not very accessible, though it would seem that more use might be made of the river itself as an outlet, and power might be available from the rapids where it crosses the En Hills.

Population densities are not high — **170–200** in the Ceded Dts, **160–220** in Hyderabad. Villages are[a] essentially tied to waterpoints, often in association with tanks, and generally built of mud or stone set in mud, with thatched roofs.

Apart from Hyderabad City, towns are few and small. Warangal (**133,130**) is the largest and of merely local importance; Bellary (56,148) is an important railway town and has small sugar and vanaspati (vegetable ghee) mills. Otherwise, except for cotton ginning and so on, industrial development is negligible: in 1949 Hyderabad had only 60,000 factory workers (probably mostly in the capital), 26,000 miners, 22,000 railwaymen.

Hyderabad (**1,085,722**) was in 1941 the fourth Indian city; it has since been outstripped by Delhi (Old and New together). Founded in 1589 by the Muslim king of Golconda, it was the capital of the Mogul Viceroyalty of the Deccan and of the independent state which arose on the Mogul ruins; old Golconda, an impressive hill-fortress, lies 5 miles to the W. The significance of Hyderabad is essentially administrative and cultural, as is evidenced by the high proportions of Urdu and Tamil speakers; the former represent the semi-feudal class dominant in the state until 1948, the latter the clerkly bureaucracy. The city is close-packed, mostly unplanned, with palaces perhaps more remarkable for size than beauty, surrounded by vast tanks. Most notable of modern buildings is perhaps the fine Osmania University. Six miles to the N is the enormous cantonment of Secunderabad, designed to afford protection to Our Faithful Ally the Nizam, and perhaps not less to ensure his continued faithfulness — a precaution not unwarranted in the stirring and in all senses intriguing days when the rising British power was at grips with the Marathas and the Mysore of Haidar Ali and Tipu, and when French influence was not altogether dead in the Deccan.

Telangana: Aspect and Prospect

Hyderabad, with its 82,313 sq mls and **18,655,108** people, its own internal posts (with yellow pillar-boxes), its integration of road services with the Nizam's State Railway, and with a reasonably good administration, was a

[a] W. Burns (ed.), *Sons of the Soil* (1941), 5.

O. Spate N-4 (no date)1954 AWI India
Telugu Am17

state of weight not inferior to that of many a sovereign member of UNO. 631
But large parts of it were still under practically feudal *jagirs*, and the tension [578]
between a Muslim aristocracy and bureaucracy, and the Maratha Telugu peasantry, was a fundamental weakness. As the only notable survivor of the Muslim Mogul succession-states, it was an Islamic cultural and political outlier fatally isolated from the Islamic bases in the NW and NE. These things were obvious to the casual traveller: as one passes from the lava mesas of Maharashtra the cultural landscape changes as much as the physical. At Gulbarga, on the lava edge, the tombs of the Muslim Bahmani Sultans dominate the gently rolling country, their domes rising like giant bubbles over the flat skyline; on the station-platforms the local petty bourgeoisie and bureaucracy, gathered to meet the train and always easily recognisable, no longer wore the dhoti or completely anglicised office clothes, but were clad in the long tight-fitting Muslim *sherwani* coat. But the Muslim hold was thin, and they were a minority of 12·8%. Geographically the weakness of the state was of course its separation from the sea—doubtless not accidental on the EIC's part; hence its interest in Masulipatam in the Godavari delta, linked by rail and only 60 miles from Hyderabad territory by the easy gap where the Gondwana trough breaks the Eastern Hills.

Today it seems possible that all the Telugu country may be united into an Andhra state, despite the great gap in economic development and perhaps in economic interests, between the harsh and arid plateau and the paddy-plain of the Madras littoral. It would probably be difficult enough to weld together peoples of such divergent environment; but the major objection to Andhra Desa is not so much the thing in itself as the difficulty of stopping such particularisms from spreading. The detachment of Telangana from Hyderabad leaves Marathwara to be disposed of; presumably there would be a move to attach it to a Maharashtra state. This would involve in turn the creation of Karnataka for the Kanarese, and there is an important overlapping zone between the two [39], while, as we have seen, the Bombay Karnatak has important ties with Bombay. That city itself is the [192]
natural outlet for Maharashtra and is in historically Maratha country; but commercially it is also closely allied with Gujarat, and indeed Gujarati is probably the main business language of Bombay. Clearly to such separatisms there is no end territorially; they probably raise as many problems as they solve; and from an *Indian* point of view the result of creating linguistically homogeneous states might be a grave weakening of national unity. (Cf. below, 682,692).

In any case, the development of the essentially poor land of Telangana 312
will call for great capital expenditure without, perhaps, much prospect of cash returns. The future depends largely on the progress of the great

[39] Deshpande, *op. cit.*, Fig. 20 (p. 86).

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135 The mineral wealth of the region is probably considerable in the aggregate, but scattered and not very accessible. It includes unworked copper and antimony; in asbestos and barytes the region produces practically all India's output, but the amounts are only *c.* 1200 cwt. and 1800 tons p.a. 369 respectively. Cuddapah, with a little industry, is the only town of any significance; or was until the selection in 1953 of Kurnool on the Tungabhadra for the capital of the new Andhra State, to consist of the Ceded Districts and the Northern Circars. This selection, against the claims of say Bezwada (below, 691) makes sense only if it is intended eventually to bring in the Telugu portions of Hyderabad. Kurnool has only about 43,000 people; it is perhaps significant that strong opposition came from the left-wing parties. The motivation was perhaps a desire to give the Ceded Districts some token that they would not be neglected.

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Mercara in tiny Coorg, and it is in any case being superseded as the seat of government by a new town at Bhuvaneshwar, 20 miles S of Cuttack.

There may, however, be a brighter future for Orissa. The merger of the hill states increased the area by 85% (to 59,869 sq mls) and the population by 58% (to 14,645,946); these are the largest gains by merger in all *India*. The ending of the fantastic fragmentation of the State may facilitate co-ordinated development of the Mahanadi power projects and flood control (above, 678); it also gives some hope for the development of the forest resources of the excessively backward hills: timber (floated down the Mahanadi), lac, tussore silk.

The Northern Circars

This region, which corresponds to littoral Andhra Desa, is a transition zone in every respect. In the N we have the normal monsoon rainfall distribution; but the October-December proportion increases steadily in importance Swds, together with a decrease in total amount and in rainy days. Already in Kistna Dt a third of the rain comes in the last quarter of the year, but these rains are more uncertain than those of the more usual monsoon months. In Ganjam Oriya is still dominant, but where the coastal plain narrows beneath the abrupt peak of Mahendragiri (4923 ft) the Aryan tongue gives way to Dravidian Telugu, which holds sway as far as the Nagari Hills (Fig. 127). To the S Nellore represents a further stage in the transition.

Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Godavari E and W, Kistna and Guntur Dts form the Northern Circars, brought under Muslim rule by the Golconda kings about 1575, ceded to the French in 1753; 12 years later the EIC obtained a grant of the whole from the Mogul Emperor, though of course his nominal subordinate the Nizam had exercised what government existed, apart from that of warring petty rajahs; this was the Company's first considerable territorial acquisition outside Bengal. Despite the Telugu culture and the modern historical identity, the region seems to lack unity. The proliferation of small ports and trading stations in the early European phase was perhaps a reflection of this; the Dutch factories at Bimlipatam and Coconada were not ceded to the EIC until 1825, and they had forced the early English settlement at Pulicat to move in 1625 to Armagaon, the parent of Madras. In Masulipatam the factory at French-pettah was not handed over to *India* until 1947, while English-palam and Volanda (Holland)-palam mark the settlements of those nations in the same town. Nizampatam was the first English station on the E coast (1611), and Yanaon (area 5 sq mls, poptn 5711) in the Godavari Delta survives as the last relic of the 18th century French holdings.

The total area is about 25,000 sq mls with a 1941 population of *c.*

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chintzes. The opening of the coastal railway completed the ruin of the cyclone of 1864; yet it is still generally known as Bandar ('the port'). Cocanada is rather better, with many more wharves and jetties; but again the anchorage is 5–6 miles offshore. The ports might—at large expense—be developed as outlets for En Hyderabad, should that backward area itself be developed; but obviously the actively prograding deltas impose severe difficulties on any reconstruction; at Cocanada constant dredging is necessary to keep a depth of 4–6 ft (LWOST) on the bar. In the great days of the coolie traffic, before the depression and the Indo-Burmese race-riots of the 1930s, Cocanada had an enormous migrant turnover.

(c) *Nellore*

The traditional Sn boundary of the Telugu country lies along the Tirupatti escarpment, overlooking the Renigunta basin; beyond is Tamilnad, a country, almost a nation, on its own. The transition is reflected in the increasing importance of tank-irrigation, though this will be changed if the Penner is ever fully utilised. Physically also the transition is marked by patches of marine Jurassics and the coastal belt of sub-recent Cuddalore sandstones; both become more important in the Madras coastal plain (Fig. 141).

Most of Nellore is poor country: low peneplains of Archaean gneisses and schists, stony or lateritic and largely covered with scrub. Even allowing for the large part of the District in the Velikondas, agriculture is severely limited. The coast is fringed by a belt of alluvium 2–14 miles wide, between low-level laterites and the blown sand of the shore. The most interesting coastal feature is the great salt-water lagoon of Pulicat; the islands of the lagoon are used for burning lime from the great shell-banks (this is a main source of *chunam* plaster for Madras building) and salt smuggling is or was important.

The Penner and its associated tanks (Fig. 138) are already important for irrigation, and will be more so when the old scheme for an anicut at the Someswaram watergap through the Velikondas is carried out.

Away from the Cuddapah Ranges (above, pp. 678–82), the only mineral wealth consists of laterite, building-stones, the coastal salt and shell-lime, and mica from the Archaean schists: output of mica is about 11,000 tons p.a., rather under 10% of *Indian* production. Nellore (56,315) is almost entirely administrative and commercial; it has a little pottery, but other industrial development is practically absent.

The Circars form the nucleus of the new Andhra State which nevertheless is to be administered from distant Kurnool. This is the first experiment in "linguistic states", and it can hardly be said that its geographical foundations are very sound or imposing (cf. 126, 675, 682).